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ON

LORD BROUGHAM'S ATTACK

UPON

GENERAL LEWIS CASS.

BY AMERICANUS.

WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

GENERAL CASS AND LORD BROUGHAM.

THE columns of the Harrisburg Argus promptly expressed indignant feeling at Lord Brougham's attack upon General Cass. That attack ranks among the most remarkable incidents of the age. From the motives that instigated it, and vast results upon the great theatre of European politics that had evidently blown it up into such rage, it cannot be too widely known to the American people.

Lord Brougham, formidable by his intellectual powers, is at the same time the most hot-headed, unbridled abolition peer in all Britain. Exasperated at General Cass' protest against the Quintuple Alliance, he rose in the British House of Lords, and denounced him in terms more outrageous than were ever before heard of in that branch of Parliament, which, for the most part, is characterized by a certain decorum in debate. Being out of the reach of responsibility, he even impeached the motives of this distinguished American, intimating, with assumed significance, that they were of a dishonorable kind.

Now, whence all this out-pouring of gall from this passionate British peer; this "stormy petrel," as a London caricature once aptly likened him to—flying over the channel, and dipping into its foaming billows? The answer is memorable. The answer has become a part of modern history. It was, simply and exclusively, because General Cass, by his matchless protest whilst Minister of the United States at Paris, achieved results the most momentous, not merely for his own country, but for the liberties of all Europe.

upon the ocean, menaced by this eternal cant about the slave-trade; Brougham himself being at the head of the canters in England. Here is the key to his belligerent thunders against General Cass. France abstained from joining the Quintuple Alliance, mainly on account of that happily-timed and irresistible protest; irresistible by its clear elucidations of the great code of international law, and convincing demonstrations of international policy. That she did, was bolted out by Lord Brougham himself in the House of Lords, in the very act of taking his abolition vengeance upon General Cass; its blindness overlooking the transcendent compliment it implied to our countryman. The same truth was openly proclaimed by Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, who had recently, as British foreign secretary, been familiar with the whole subject. It has been since reiterated in the London Quarterly Review. It is now, in fact, the fixed judgment of Europe on this remarkable event in its public affairs.

Here we would pause, with the honest pride of Americans. We would ask, when has it been the lot of any individual to receive homage like this? There is something in it to arrest universal attention. We are unable, at this moment, to recall any case parallel to it. It ascribes to individual instrumentality, in the person of General Cass, who acted upon his own promptings, (as Mr. Stevenson had nobly done in his sphere at London,) the breaking up of one of those dangerous combinations among states then on the eve of consummation, the demolition of which is never looked for, and rarely effected in the history of the world, but by the decisive interposition of national influence or power.

It forms a solid and enduring tribute to duty well performed by a public servant of this great Republic abroad. In dwelling upon it, we desire to abstain from all exaggerated praise. It requires no praise at all at our hands. It is wholly national in its nature and results. Its intrinsic importance is seen in the simple statement of it. Great minds are made for great energies. Where precedent does not exist, they fall back upon their own resources. They strike out in advance the rule for others to follow, and plaudits, in due time, wait upon their foresight and exertions.

Such, in our humble opinion, are the plaudits in reserve for General Cass; and we would flatter ourselves that Americans of all parties, on carefully regarding the relative positions occupied by the General and Lord Brougham on this remarkable occasion, will share our indignation at the attempt of this British peer to detract from his fame. And how does he compare with him? We confidently reply, as Thersites did with Achilles. The one can do things; the other, berate the author of them. Or, taking a comparison from home, let us rather say that he is, to our Cass, something as Monmouth Lee, of Revolutionary memory, was to Washington; more pungent in vituperation, and all bold licentiousness of tongue; but at an immeasurable distance behind him in the conduct suited to great occasions; in self-government, where that is necessary; in independent firmness, where that quality is demanded; above all, in the knowledge and wisdom suited to direct the course of nations, and vindicate, for the benefit of the present age and after ages, the just liberties of mankind. In all these spheres, the morbid aspirations of

Lord Brougham to be doing the world's business at "world's conventions;" his dogmatism, his egotism, his petulance, his passion, and his presumption, render him, with all his acquirements, infinitely the inferior of General Cass. And we doubt not, also, but that his crest would have fallen, could our illustrious countryman have faced him after his late libels—as it fell before old Lord Lynedoch lately; or, not to bring it up vauntingly in this connexion, but historically, as the British banner yielded to the early valor of our then patriotic Colonel Cass, at Aux Canards; where he struck the first victorious blow in honorable combat against it, in the second war of Independence.

It is under such impressions as all these, that we believe we shall be rendering an acceptable service in laying before the public, in the present form, the admirable article, signed "Americanus," that appeared in the *Globe* of the 22d of May. All who have read it, have been delighted with it—wherever we have heard it spoken of. As a composition, it combines point with force. It deals with Lord Brougham as he deserves, and does justice to General Cass for those extraordinary services, to his own country and Europe, that drew forth his malignant attack. It is a condensed, comprehensive production, full of truth, spirit, and patriotism. We republished it immediately in the *Argus*; but think we cannot err in predicting that it will be received with pleasure also in this more portable form, by every American in whose bosom the just pride of country is felt.

We feel, however, that we *shall* err, (if we have not already,) by detaining the reader any longer, by further remarks of our own, from the treat that awaits him in reading the article itself.

[From the Washington Globe.]

LORD BROUGHAM'S ATTACK

UPON

GENERAL CASS.

GENERAL CASS has reason to congratulate himself that his late glorious services at Paris, in arresting the insidious schemes of England for investing herself with the supreme dominion of the ocean—an object which she has pursued, through centuries of progressive aggrandizement, with an eye that has never winked, and a step that has never faltered—are now receiving the highest attestation to their efficiency and importance in the unmeasured denunciations of British pride and resentment. No wonder that Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux—who, with all his extraordinary gifts, has sunk into the Thersites of the British Senate,

“Awed by no shame ; by no respect controll’d ;
In scandal busy ; in reproaches bold ;”—

should glory in reviling, “with licentious style,” so shining a mark for malignant vituperation. After having arraigned Monsieur de Tocqueville, one of the greatest geniuses and most profound political writers of the age, before the British House of Lords, and

upbraided him for the offence of having called in question the new British claim of a virtual *right of search* in time of peace, “with marvellous ignorance”—“ignorance the most incredibly profound”—it was quite a natural transition for his Lordship, in following up his vocation, to turn upon our illustrious countryman, (to whom British power owed a far deeper debt of vengeance for ambitious schemes thwarted in the very moment of their expected consummation,) and bestow upon the vigilant and successful American Minister some of the choicest flowers of his Lordship’s parliamentary billingsgate.

It is, indeed, a most *edifying* spectacle to see this Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux—who, in his bold pretensions to universal knowledge, has incurred the character of the most presumptuous *sciolist* of his day—one of whom, a distinguished countryman of his own, and a learned professional brother, keenly remarked “it was a pity he didn’t know *something* of law, and then it might be said he knew a *little* of everything”—reproaching one of the most able and accomplished ministers and jurists of whom any country can boast, with “having no more conception of even the rudiments of international law, than he has of the languages spoken in the moon,” and “no more capacity of reasoning, than he has of understanding legal points and legal differences!” Equally edifying is it to see the inflated lordling, who, without official trust or confidence in his own country, is perpetually thrusting himself into the concerns of all the

cabinets of Christendom—who, without any delegation of authority from either party, at one time puts himself forward as mediator between England and France, and at another, attempts to play peace-maker (or rather mischief-maker) between America and England—who, in short, is the universal *busy-body* and *intermeddler* of the age—magisterially rebuking General Cass for “stepping out of his own province, and mixing himself up with French affairs—with the negotiations between France and England—which he had no more to do with, than he had with treaties between any two powers in the peninsula of India, and obtruding upon the French Government his officious protest against the treaty between England and France, to excite war between the two countries.”

Lord Brougham, then, would have had General Cass, the trusted depository of American rights and honor at a foreign court, to stand by with folded arms and sealed lips, while he saw a great maritime confederacy about to be formed and consummated, which, if not aimed directly at his country, would necessarily compromise her safety in a most vital point, and overturn those principles of maritime freedom and independence for which she had invariably contended, simply because the *United States were not, technically, a party upon the record!* Strange narrowness of views this, for one who sets himself up as *par excellence* the model of a statesman and international jurist. The end and aim of the quintuple treaty, so far as Great Britain was concerned, and its necessary effect

in practice, would have been to subject the whole commercial ocean to the supreme jurisdiction of the British naval police, not only in regard to those powers who were parties to the treaty, but, as a consequence of the new British doctrine of the *right of visitation*, against all the other maritime powers of the world. The immense and extended circumference marked out by the treaty for the exercise of this new and arrogant police, embraced all the accustomed paths of American navigation and commerce, and was pushed, as if in the wantonness of defiance, into very contact with the American coast.

General Cass was not the man, at a moment like this, to stultify himself by a timid, ceremonial diplomacy. Feeling that the vital interests of his country were at stake, he cast aside all thoughts of himself, and all fears of personal responsibility, and boldly appealed to our ancient ally (whose ratification alone was wanting) to reconsider, with the profound reflection due to the gravity of the occasion, the work to which she was now required to put the final seal of her approbation. The appeal was successful, as it could hardly fail to be, enforced as it was by an able and conclusive exposure of the dangerous consequences which lay concealed beneath the fair exterior of the projected league, and resting upon a triumphant vindication of those glorious principles which France and America had so long held in common, in regard to the freedom of the seas. France withheld her ratification; and the fabric which Great Britain had

been so long and so painfully constructing, in the fond hope of at length accomplishing, by the general concurrence and support of the powers of Europe—the darling object of her ambition—at once crumbled into ruins. This cruel disappointment of British hopes and machinations was the work of an American minister, who proved himself equal to the exigencies of a great occasion; and well has General Cass deserved the honor of the denunciations and rancorous abuse so lavishly bestowed upon him, whether by the brawlers of the British forum, or the scribblers for the British press.

The value of his services to his own country, it were difficult to appreciate, even by any approximate standard. Had the quintuple treaty been consummated by the ratification of France, (and that it was not, was owing essentially to the timely and spirited interposition of General Cass,) we have the authority of both Lord Palmerston, in the late debate in the House of Commons, and of Lord Brougham, for saying Great Britain would have been so flushed by the success of her projects, and so emboldened in the pursuit of her long-cherished aim of undisputed supremacy on the ocean, that America would have had no alternative but war or submission on the great question of maritime rights, on which she had staked her character and fortunes. Submission is a word not found in the vocabulary of American patriotism. War, then, with the greatest maritime power in the world, would have been inevitable—and with the

alliance of all Europe, secured to her beforehand, to back and sustain her in the conflict. By the bold and skilful efforts of General Cass, in averting the ratification of the treaty, France was detached from this menacing and formidable Anglo-European confederacy, and restored to her natural and ancient relations of cordial co-operation with the United States, in defending the liberty of the seas. This at once gave England pause; and, by transferring to the side of the United States the powerful ally which had been detached from her, enforced upon her councils the necessity of peace with America.

All this is, with great *naivete*, very unequivocally confessed in a leading article of the last number of the London Quarterly Review, on the treaty of Washington. Speaking of the final rejection of the quintuple treaty by France, which, the reviewer says, "was mainly occasioned by a pamphlet of General Cass, which he sent round to all the French Chambers, and subsequently by his formal intervention as American Minister," the article proceeds to develop, in the following terms, the new attitude which that occurrence gave to the relations of the United States and England:

"The result was, that, instead of the anticipated facilities of arranging the question (the right of search) with the United States, Lord Ashburton found them and France *united*, and arrayed in a most violent and warlike opposition to any arrangement of the question. We shall go more at large into this matter by-and-by; here we only mention it to explain how much this *sudden and unexpected junction* of—we will not say interests, (for the supposed right of search is a mere bug-bear,) but of—passion, between *two such*

powers as France and the United States, must have enhanced the difficulty, and, at the same time, the necessity, of arranging our American differences."

It was the masterly diplomatic *coup de main* of General Cass, in separating France from the alliance of England, and *uniting* her again with her ancient and natural ally, the United States, which alone disposed England to an arrangement of her American differences on any terms compatible with American honor. It was General Cass' able management at Paris which rendered an adjustment practicable at Washington; and if, unfortunately, we shall hereafter be drawn into a contest with England on the vital question of the *freedom of the seas*, it will be owing to General Cass' vigorous and long-sighted statesmanship, that we shall engage in the contest with the co-operation and powerful support of our ancient ally, instead of having to encounter her on the side of the adversary. Come what may, he has, by a signal ability, which knew how to improve a *conjuncture* which falls to the lot of but few men, in the most splendid career of public service, contributed to place his country in a position of impregnable strength, as well as lofty honor; and, with the consciousness of such services, and of the reward which never fails to attend them, in the affection and applause of a grateful people, the clamors of *titled* or untitled defamers may well "pass by him as the idle wind, which he respects not."

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